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ABSTRACT

In the last 6 years, 27 countries have emerged anew in Europe and Central Asia (ECA). Many countries have moved away from having a single political party manage the state and its economic apparatus. This paper aims to answer whether educational mechanisms can lower social tension and help achieve social cohesion in these countries, and how these mechanisms are defined and measured. The paper also examines the experience to date with the social utility of education mechanisms. It briefly reviews concepts of institutional and organizational economics so that the economic implications of education's social cohesion functions can be understood. Origins of public schooling are reviewed to place the educational challenges in the ECA region in historical context. The paper reviews the experience to date in the ECA region in meeting the challenges of social cohesion and hence the economic development of the 27 nations in the region. Contains 13 notes, a bibliography, informational materials on the various countries, and the "National Core Curriculum" for Hungary. (BT)

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FROM THE PARTY/STATE TO MULTI-ETHNIC DEMOCRACY:

EDUCATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL COHESION IN THE EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA REGION. *

SO 029 620

Stephen P. Heyneman

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Introduction

In the last six years, 27 countries have emerged anew in Europe and Central Asia. Though far from uniform, the trend is to move away from having a single political party manage the state and its economic apparatus. Many countries have written new constitutions guaranteeing individual freedoms and liberties, encouraged private economic and social organizations, declared private ownership of property to be legal, encouraged entrepreneurial private enterprise, and fostered new political and trade relationships with international organizations and with foreign countries. After many years of religious prohibition, worship is permitted, and in some instances, encouraged. Citizens are free to travel domestically and abroad, free to participate in debate over public policy, and free to vote for public leaders.

However, the transition from party/state to open, multi-ethnic democracy has not been easy. Untested by experience, open democracy has proved to be an imperfect tool for effectively establishing domestic policy. Historical tensions have emerged among ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. New tensions have resulted from the inconsistency of legislative and legal institutions and the spontaneous growth of inequality in income, property and economic power. Adjudicating institutions, courts of law, and the laws themselves, have failed to keep pace withthe evolving needs of the environment in which they operated. Additionally, the media and local elected officials have sometimes proven to be uncertain of their new functions, weak, unstable and open to corruption. The result has been a growth in social tension.

There have been many international efforts to advise and assist the new ECA countries on questions of fiscal stabilization and privatization of property. Social problems have garnered less attention and more resistance to addressing them. Nevertheless, social tension may be the principal determining factor governing the future relationships among the new countries with each other, with international investors, and with the world community generally.

Can educational mechanisms lower social tension and help achieve social cohesion? If so, how are these mechanisms defined and measured? What is the experience to date with the social utility of education mechanisms?

This paper will try to answer these questions. **First** it will briefly review some concepts of institutional and organizational economics so that the economic implications of education's social cohesion functions can be more clear. **Second** it will review the origins of public schooling so that the reader may place the educational challenges in the ECA region in historical context. **Last**, the paper will review the experience to date in the ECA region in meeting the challenges of social cohesion and hence the economic development of the 27 nations in the region.

Economics of Social Cohesion.

According to Douglas North, there are three reasons why 'history matters': (i) we can learn from it, (ii) our future depends on the continuity of current institutions, and (iii) our choices are shaped by our experience. (North, 1990, p vii). One of the principal lessons of history is a fact which is so obvious that it is sometimes ignored. Economic development is made possible through human cooperation. Cooperation offers the possibility of individuals and nations to accumulate or maximize economic gains which have resulted from creative enterprise and the trade which that enterprise engenders. Because of the complexities of measurement, this branch of economics, institutional economics, is not the most well known. Basically it concerns the study of these mechanisms for 'human cooperation' and how they work (Eggertsson, 1990; Olson, 1965, 1982; North, 1990).

There seem to be two elements which make cooperation possible. First are the institutional rules which guide all types of organizations. Second are the stabilizing traditions within the organizations themselves. Institutional rules include codes for public conduct, norms for private behavior, manifest statutes, common law and contracts among individuals and organizations. An organization consists of groups of individuals bound together for a common purpose. Stabilizing traditions within each organization differ from one another. There are many types of organizations, but, in general, they can be reduced to four basic categories: (i) political bodies, such as legislatures, etc.; (ii) economic bodies, such as firms; (iii) social bodies, such as churches; and (iv) educational bodies, such as schools and universities.

Each type of organization makes its own contribution to social cohesion. Political bodies organize the debate and establish the means for public policy. Economic bodies organize entrepreneurial endeavors and generate income. Social bodies bind people to moral norms. What about schools? What functions do schools have and why do nations invest in schools?

Social Functions of Education

Some economists suggest that the inability of societies to develop low cost and effective self-regulating mechanisms for enforcement of social contracts, prevents economic development (Bates, 1989). The concept of a social contract is broader than a legal contract. A social contract includes for instance, a willingness to pay taxes and fulfill other public obligations; it may include the willingness to participate in public affairs, maintain cleanliness of one's property, act responsibly, be a good citizen. In instances where a society's general philosophy, such as racial tolerance for one's fellow citizens, conflicts with one's private opinion, the social contract of racial tolerance is expected to take precedence, particularly in public fora. Countries which lack economic development

are often associated with an environment in which contracts are not enforceable by any mechanism, and most certainly are not self-regulating.

People are more likely to adhere to social contracts under certain conditions. They are more likely to adhere to contracts when they do not consider each other as cultural 'strangers'; that is, when they have more understanding of each other as people, as citizens of the same country or as citizens of a 'similar' country where it is believed that the same norms and expectations govern social contracts. People are more likely to adhere to social contracts when they have a greater understanding of the reasons for those contracts, and are more knowledgeable about the sanctions which may be expected in the event of noncompliance. The most common mechanism for achieving compliance is through the state, particularly through state's authority to sanction, but states can become tyrannical. In a tyranny, those who run the state may force compliance in their own interest at the expense of the rest of society. The challenge then is to achieve compliance without tyranny.

The most effective check against tyranny is a public consensus on the definition of tyranny; on the rights of those who believe they are the objects of tyranny; and on the obligations and responsibilities of those who use coercive power. Such a consensus makes it more difficult for tyranny to occur because it can be more easily identified and controlled. How can this public consensus come about, and more importantly, how can it be passed to the young?

Each of the four types of organizations -- political, economic, social, and educational, helps contribute to the public consensus. Education contributes in three ways. First, it helps provide public knowledge about social contracts themselves, what they mean, and why they are important, etc. Second, education helps provide the behavior expected under social contracts, in part through the socially heterogeneous experiences students have in the schools themselves. Third, education helps provide an understanding of the expected consequences for breaking social contracts. These three reasons, comprise the social rationales for public education, hence the social rationales for investments in public education.

When there is a consensus on behavior, unregulated by state sanction, that consensus is called 'social capital' (Coleman, 1988). Social capital refers to certain norms that make government, the economy, and the national community work better (Ruffin, McCarter, Upjohn, 1996). It involves the development of shared understandings that increase the level of trust and willingness to act in ways that will benefit a community even when the benefit to the individual self is not immediately obvious.[1]

Countries differ significantly in the degree of social capital with which they are endowed. As a quantity, it is tangible. It is productive. Social capital makes possible the achievement of certain ends which would not have been possible without social capital. It

[1] I am grateful to Walter Feinberg at the University of Illinois for helping me appreciate this distinction.

comes about through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action (Coleman, 1986; 1987). Investments may be made in social capital wisely, or not. There is a tendency, however, to not invest wisely. Unlike physical and most human capital, the benefits of social capital are not easily captured by the individual. The incentive to invest in social capital is therefore less. For instance, the social norms which govern good citizenship may not primarily benefit the individual actor whose effort is necessary to bring good behavior about. Instead the benefits accrue to others who are part of the society. Many structures, such as family, church and community organizations, are necessary to bring about good citizenship behavior in the face of such imbalanced benefits. One of the most important in this regard are the schools, hence the importance of schools as public investments particularly in those societies where citizenship behavior is new and untested. This, in essence, is the mechanism by which education contributes to political development in new nations.

The sustainability of Social Capital. Social Capital can be created through effective schooling, but how can it be sustained? What changes interaction from being a single experience to becoming a habit? The answer has to do with the nature of tradition.[2] It requires three generations to create a tradition. Traditions may begin as a compendium of single experiences, but they become codified over time until they represent a 'massive presentness' in which the past 'lives in the present' and serves as a guide for action (Shils, 1981, p.34). Public schooling attempts very consciously to generate traditions in the manner by which citizens treat each other. Putnam (1993) has described how weak social capital, rooted in tradition, affects community development in Southern Italy.[3] Samuelson (1998), describes the manner by which social capital works from a 'critical boiling point' in which the sum of a multiple number of similar yet small events occur, and turn the market in a new direction. Creating the direction of the 'market' in social interaction among citizens is the traditional reason for public education.

The History of Public Education.

Mechanisms to impart organized wisdom have been developed in each culture. The concept of public education, however, is a different matter. Public rationales for sending children to school were first articulated in the time of Martin Luther, about 400 years ago and, at first, centered on the need to improve public morality.

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[2] Though many have studied specific traditions, religious, ethnographic and the like, Shils is the only source on the nature of tradition itself (Shils, 1981).

[3] In terms of social capital, the history of many ECA countries is quite worrying. As Putnam points out: 'Many of the formerly Communist societies had weak civic traditions before the advent of Communism, and totalitarian rule abused that limited stock of social capital, the Hobbesian outcome of the Mezzogiorno – amoral familism, clientelism, lawlessness, ineffective government, and economic stagnation – seem likelier than successful democratization and economic development. Palermo may represent the future of Moscow.' (Putnam, 1993, p. 183).

> I am of the opinion that the government is obligated to compel its citizenry to send their children to school. If a government can compel its citizens to bear spear and gun, to run about on the city wall and to assume other duties when it desires to carry on war, how much more can and should the government compel its citizens to keep their children at school. Luther, 1530, cited in Helmreich, 1959, p. 15.

The Prince of Wurttemberg, in 1559, is acknowledged to be the first of a series of German political leaders to sponsor state schools, but it wasn't until 1717 that Frederick William I made urban education compulsory and helped provide finance for the education of children from homes which could otherwise not afford it.[4] It was his son, Frederick the Great, however, who is credited as being the 'father' of public education. It was Frederick the Great who deviated from having a single public religious morality as the principal rationale for public schooling. Because Prussia had recently acquired lands in which there were Catholics as well as Protestants, in his Generallandschulreglement in 1763, and later in the Allgemeine Landrecht of 1794, he established the principle of compulsory education (for both urban and rural areas), the state's supervisory role with respect to private (usually church) providers, and most importantly, the principle of tolerance toward confessional activities in lieu of a common Prussian loyalty .

> There are few lands in which all citizens have the same religion, and the question arises: is such unity to be forced or can one permit every one to think according to his own views? To this the answer must be that it is impossible to establish such unity... general tolerance alone guarantees the happiness of the state... Frederick the Great, 1763, cited in Helmreich, 1959, p. 29.

The philosophic foundation for public education as it is known today, however, was established in the 19th Century in France by Francois Guizot (1787 - 1874), in New England by Horace Mann (1796 - 1859), and in the Netherlands by Petras Hofstede de Groot (1802 - 1886). With each, the effort to enlighten a nation through a system of popular education was concerned more with attitudes and values than with the skills of literacy and numeracy. As Glenn observes, "popular education was not simply, or even primarily, to teach literacy or other skills but to develop the common attitudes and values considered essential to a society in which broader and broader circles of the population were entering public life" (Glenn, 1988, p. 45). As Charles Brooks remarked, "... education could no longer be left to private initiative or allowed to take as many different forms as there were sponsoring organizations; too much was at stake..."(Brooks, 1837, cited in Glenn, 1988, p. 46).

What was 'at stake' was the forging of a nation based not on principles of tyrannical control but for the first time, one based on the informed consent of the

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[4] In contrast to developing countries today, the first public school systems in Prussia, New England, and the Netherlands did not expand schooling. Rather they reorganized and coordinated the different school systems which already existed under the auspices of voluntary and religious organizations.

governed, across the full gamut of religions, classes, languages and ethnicities from which the modern heterogeneous state was contrived. As Stiep Stuurman put it,

> Through education and propagation of (common) culture among all classes, the circle of citizens could be broadened, as would the basis of the state... a homogeneous Dutch nation would come into being. This is the political core of the common school policies, the school as a nation-forming institution must not be divided among sectarian schools or left in the hands of an exclusive political or church party. (Stuurman, 1983, pp. 116 -117) .

To some extent the success of the modern Netherlands, with the merging of Catholic and Protestant sub-populations can be attributed to the success of the public school and the over-riding ethos of tolerance which was enforced through the state in both Catholic and Protestant educational curricula. In New England, however the sub-populations were more numerous, hence the challenge more complex. The solution in New England seemed to rest on a common school managed by the state and independent from all sectarian control.[5] As W.S. Datton explained in 1848,

> The children of this country, of whatever parentage, should not wholly but to a certain extent be educated together -- be educated not as Baptists, or Methodists, or Episcopalians, or Presbyterians; not as Roman Catholics or Protestants, still less as foreigners in language or spirit, but as Americans, as made of one blood and citizens of the same free country, -- educated to be one harmonious people. The common school system, if wisely and liberally conducted, is well fitted in part at least to accomplish this. While it does not profess to give a complete education and allows ample opportunity for instruction and training in denominational peculiarities elsewhere, it yet brings the children of all sects together, gives them, to a limited extent a common like education, and, by such education and by the commingling, acquaintance and fellowship which it involves in the early unprejudiced and impressionable periods of life, assimilates and unites them. (Datton, 1848, p. 166).

What would be the social cost for not having a system of public education? As Horace Bushnell argues, not having such a system would weaken the security of the nation and endanger the liberties on which it had been founded.

> This great institution, the common school, is not only a part of the state, but it is imperiously wanted as such, for the common training of so many classes and conditions of people. There needs to be some place where in early childhood, they may be brought together and made acquainted with each other... without common schools the disadvantage that accrues to the state, in the loss of so much character,

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[5] This distinction between European public education (which included public roles for sectarian schools) and U.S. public education (in which the state monopolized the provision of public education) remains to this day. However, the rationales for public education in the beginning were quite similar.

> and so many cross ties of mutual respect and general appreciation, the embittering so fatally of all outward distinctions, and the propagation of so many misunderstandings.... weakens immensely, the security of the state, and even its liberties. (Bushnell, 1847).

Much thought has been given to how schools might teach values, but none summarize the process better than the comment cited by Hyman and Wright, "Children learn to think about what it is like to be another person. They cultivate their systematic imaginations" (Hyman and Wright, 1979, p. 67). As Stephen Bailey points out,

> ... if education for political development means anything it means the assertion of these value universals and the delineation of man's attempts over the centuries to fashion and to perfect instruments of law, administration and the politics to create -- not the Great Leviathan -- but the good society. This does not mean that (new) countries must slavishly copy (western) laws and constitutions. It does mean that whatever laws and constitutions they fashion for themselves must place restrictions upon the character and exercise of political power.. In essence, man's long political odyssey has some universal lessons. Like its Homeric analogue, man's political odyssey has had its Cyclops and its Circes, its Scyllas and Charybdices. Wise leaders throughout history have lashed themselves and their crews to the masts of law to escape the siren call of demagogic tyranny... Surely (new) nations need not recapitulate all the sorry political errors of history, any more than they need revert to a labored progression beginning with stone implements to prepare themselves for the wonders of modern technology. To pretend that education has something useful to say about the conquest of disease, poverty and technological backwardness, but nothing to say about political backwardness, seems to me fantastic... if education in (new) countries cannot or will not affirm these things it will have missed its imperative mission. (Bailey, 1963, p. 57 - 59).

Have schools been successful at fostering social cohesion? The evidence is ambiguous because the influence of education on non-monetary benefits is particularly difficult to isolate from other influences. But there has been some progress in spite of the difficulties (Olsen and Zeckhauser, 1974; Olson, 1977; Duncan, 1976; Comer, 1988; Haveman and Wolfe, 1984, 1994; Wolfe and Zunekas, 1997; Michael, 1982; Wachtel, 1975). Research has included the following: schools' roles in broadening outlook and increasing tolerance and desire to participate in the political process (Lipset, 1959); the association between more and better education and a nation's democratic stability (Almond and Verba, 1963; Puryear, 1994); the connection between educational structures and democratic stability (Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1998); the degree to which more education is associated with greater voluntary political participation (Verba et. al., 1978; Campbell et. al., 1976; Gintis, 1971; Nie, Junn and Stehlik, 1996); the connection between education and an individual's orientation toward legel behaviour and good citizenship (Hahn, 1977; Ehrilch, 1975; Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Torney-Purta, 1995, 1996, 1997; Niemi and Hepburn, 1995); and the association between classroom climate and civic behavior (Torney-Purta and Schwille, 1986; Becker, 1963; Butts, 1980).

There has been comparatively little research on the influence of specific curricula such as social studies or civics on values or behaviour (Torney-Purta, Oppenheim, Farner, 1975; Torney-Purta, 1996). On the other hand, as Lawrence Cremin points out, when placed in context the influence of schools is surprisingly robust. "It is not that schooling lacks potency," he says, "it is that the potency of schooling must be seen in relation to the potency of other experiences." (Cremin, 1976, p. 36). In general, however, education can make a contribution to social cohesion through four separate mechanisms: (i) by providing an equality of educational opportunity for all citizens; (ii) by achieving a public consensus on what to teach the young about citizenship and history; (iii) by providing an ethnically-tolerant climate in the classroom environment; and (iv) by establishing democratic institutions (such as school boards) to adjudicate when there are differences of opinion about whether the first three mechanisms have been achieved.

Summary

The essence of public schools and their principal rationale for socializing the population does not conform to the typical economic rationales for investment in education. The dissemination of literacy, numeracy and many other skills constitute economic benefits which accrue to the individuals who experience schooling. But the principal rationale, and the reasons nations invest in public education, has traditionally been the social purpose of schooling. This social purpose originated from the time when first multi ethnic nations were being constructed (Maynew, 1985; Mc Monnell, 1963). The principle task of public schooling, properly organized and delivered, has traditionally been to create harmony within a nation of divergent peoples.

Public schooling is an investment in the 'social contract', whose benefits are believed to accrue not only to the individual who experiences schooling but also, and perhaps more importantly, to the wider society. The current challenge of education in the Europe and Central Asia (ECA) region is similar to the challenge faced by education in the early 19th and 20th Centuries in Europe and North America. That challenge is to forge new nations, at peace within themselves, while at the same time, tolerant of their often very divergent neighbors. As David McClelland reminds us, " The world's biggest problem is how to keep the peace. The world's second largest problem is how to achieve prosperity" (McClelland, 1963). The first is essential for the second.

The Education Challenge of the Transition.

The Challenge of Over-coming the Inheritance. One common impression is that education under the party/state was both effective and excellent. As evidence it was common to point to technical achievements -- nuclear weapons, space travel, advanced computer systems and the like. Olympiads in mathematics and science were widely interpreted as signs that the education system was of high quality. This association between technical achievement and the quality of education, however, involves a set of shaky assumptions. As Anderson observes about the United States,

> We produced the atomic bomb at a time when critics were lamenting the supposed deterioration of our schools. The bomb was created by a few scientists with unlimited resources, though the craftsmen who produced the delicate instruments were no less essential. The quality of our schools may have been irrelevant to this feat. Similarly, Sputnik proves little about the general quality of Soviet schools (Anderson, 1959, p. 27).[6]

However questionable the evidence of academic quality, still it is evident that the education system under the Party/State was effectively delivered. Access to schooling was universal, even in rural areas. Literacy among adults was nearly universal. Female representation in higher education was near parity. Since the structures were already in place at the beginning of the transition, couldn't these achievements continue?

For several reasons, the characteristics which made the education system effective under the Party/State could not continue once the assumptions of the economy and the polity had changed. The previous system was designed structurally to respond to the demand of central planning; these structures have had to be completely reformed. Such structural reforms have been described in some detail in other contexts. (Heyneman, 1994, 1995(a); 1997 (a), 1997 (b), 1997 (c) 1997 (d), 1998 (forthcoming); Glenn, 1995; World Bank, 1995).

More complex than changes in structure has been the necessity to change the philosophy. The entire system of education under the party/state was predicated upon an assumption of a fixed logic of behavior, a logic carefully developed in the ideological branch of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in Moscow and supposedly enforced with vigor within every school, in every subject and at every grade level. It was the logic of the 'true believer' (Hoffer, 1958), that is, it was developed by those who had been carefully vetted so that doubt and uncertainty could be eliminated.

Marxist/Leninist curricula theories were infused into each subject, including the sciences, so that emphasis could be laid on character formation consistent with the needs of the state. Described by Bronfenbrenner (1968), the methods of character formation differed significantly from those in the west. Under the Party/State, heavy use was made of the power of peer pressure to enforce conformity. The means to achieve this conformity were carefully laid out with the content of four basic courses in Marxist/ Leninist thought which every student in higher education was required to take. They included the History of the Communist Party of the USSR, Dialectical Materialism, Introduction to Marxism

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[6] The fact that U.S. students have recently won gold medals in the international mathematics Olympiads simultaneously with low US results on international tests of mathematics achievement, reiterates the point that Olympiads may not be the best indicator of quality for a nation's school system.

and Leninism, and Historical Materialism. In 1963 a fifth was added: Sound Fundamentals of Basic Atheism.[7]

The courses inculcated a fixed philosophy for the purpose of explaining why the communist system was superior; why the communist party was the ultimate authority for questions on personal behavior; and why individuals were fortunate to be a part of the overall soviet system and Soviet society (De Witt, 1968). Outside the Soviet Union these courses differed in tone and emphasis. Nevertheless, in one form or another they were present in every school system in Eastern and Central Europe. The logic was fixed and complete in the sense that it was designed to answer all possible questions and guide all possible inquiries toward a fixed network of authority.

It was common for intelligent students (and the intelligencia in general) to privately hold this ideology in disdain.[8] Nevertheless, all students were compelled to publicly demonstrate concurrence and adherence to its logic. This 'public show' of fealty within schools, lowered the status of the education system in general, as well as the teaching profession. This disdain for the politicized elements in the curriculum profoundly biased demand for particular courses of study and for particular professions. Since the content of the social sciences and humanities were heavily influenced by the political party, demand for study in these areas was low. Demand was higher for courses sheltered from political interference. Science, technology, theoretical mathematics, solid state physics, and nuclear engineering for instance were better protected from political interference and less subject to ideological distortion in the criteria for academic excellence. Hence, these areas were considered higher in prestige.[9]

The social sciences were considered risky by political authorities because they included inquiry about what motivates human nature and what people truely believe. Posing these as empirical questions to be investigated was profoundly threatening to party authorities for it could imply that those authorities did not in fact already have the answers. Social sciences and humanities were therefore subject to significantly more political control.

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[7] A unique aspect of education under the Party/State was the active campaign against religion. Religious schools were closed. Teachers were exhorted to create 'godless corners' in every public school classroom and to 'teach atheism with enthusiasm, knowledge, care devotion and dedication.' A special state publishing house for atheism was created in 1922 and distributed publications titled: Bezbozhnik (Godless), Bezbozhnik u stanka (Atheist at the Workbench), and Antireligiuznik. A seminary was established for the training of 'atheistic leaders (Brickman, 1972; 1974).

[8] One piece of confirming evidence behind this assertion is the speed and thoroughness with which this ideology was jettisoned after 1991. As Paolo Basurto has pointed out (in private communication), this has left whole populations in search of new identities, which has contributed to a resurgence of long-repressed ethnicity.

[9] Demand was affected within as well as between disciplines. In history, paleontology was considered higher in prestige than 20th Century history for the same reasons which affected the prestige of history versus solid state physics.

Similar controls and differences in prestige were associated with different types of educational institutions. Because they had often been established prior to the Party/State and held to universal traditions of academic freedom and the 'pursuit of truth', universities raised concerns among political authorities. There were worries that university faculty might question official interpretations of history, the effectiveness of public policies, or the certainty of what was held to be popular opinion. For this reason, universities were often unfavored by comparison to technical and engineering institutions. Fields of engineering and polytechnics expanded rapidly and were offered prime choices of property, laboratory equipment, and faculty salaries. As Eisemon et. al. observe with respect to Romania,

> Policies strongly encouraged national scientific and technological autarchy. The allocation of resources reflected the priority given in national economic planning...In the 1980's more than 80 percent of the funded research projects were directed to the heavy machinery, manufacturing and construction industries... Most of the rest of the R & D investment was expended on other kinds of applied research. Little funding was provided for fundamental research and almost none at all for social science and academic research that was not production oriented and carried out under the direction of either government scientific institutions or enterprises... gross distortions in the mission of higher education and research institutions are an important legacy of the socialist period (Eisemon et. al., 1995).

The Educational Challenge of an Open Society. Creating an effective and excellent education system in an open society and multi-party democracy, is significantly different and profoundly more complex than it was under the Party/State. There is little experience in the ECA region in meeting the new demands. As Wilson, Williams and Sugarman remind us,

> There is an important sense in which a liberal society has a harder job than an authoritarian one. In politics, there is a simplicity about a dictatorship which is lacking to a democracy. If you go in for a master-slave system, you need only a few orders and a whip: if you go in for freedom, you need all sorts of complicated mechanisms and contexts of communication -- availability of information, voting, debates, rules of procedure and so forth. In the same way, moral education requires more attention in liberal societies. Indeed ... the concepts of morality and education themselves imply some kind of liberal theory, which is to be contrasted with the mere conditioning of behavior; and any genuine form of moral education will therefore require more thought and planning than a comparatively simple program of brain-washing or indoctrination. (Wilson, Williams and Sugarman, 1967; p. 16).

Curriculum challenges in open societies in transition generally fall into three categories. First there is the challenge of pedagogy. The emphasis must shift to the complexities of student learning as distinct from the content of teaching. Next there is the challenge of introducing new subject matter which often have no precedent in the region -- western economics, accounting methods, civil rights law, business administration and the

like. Last, and by far the most complex, are the changes necessary in the teaching of civics education, social studies, and history. A few words, in turn, about each.

Student Learning. Under the party state, students were treated as receptacles for information. In spite of the existence of a long liberal local tradition in pedagogical philosophy (Ushinski, Vygotsky, Tolstoy), Soviets reduced the accepted expertice in education to a few simple principles, none of which included differences in student interest, motivation, or orientation. The Great Soviet encyclopedia of 1955, for instance, mentions only five names of those who have made a contribution to Soviet education -- Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, and Makarenko (W.W. B., 1957, p. 13). The first four were not educators at all, but rather political philosophers and/or dictators, thus illustrating the irrelevance of the student in the teaching/learning equation. The latter (Makarenko) established his reputation largely on the successful 'training' of delinquents and orphans on the basis of a rigorous program, selective subject matter, and a clear, definitive routine.

Many articulate local educators were dissatisfied with the ignorance of the education philosophy under the Party/State, so much so that it is fair to suggest that the reforms in education pre-dated changes in either the economy or in government (Prucha, 1992; Mitter, 1996; Eklof and Dneprov, 1993; Kerr, 1990, 1994). The range of current pedagogies and specializations now mirror those available in western Europe. They include specializations based upon classical traditions (gymnasia, lyceums, foreign languages, dance), religious beliefs (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Islam), pedagogical philosophies (Steiner, Montessori, Dewey, Schiller), and economic demand (banking, economics, business orientations and the like). Radical by most standards of reform, these choices were put into place in the Europe and Central Asia Region with an initial speed and enthusiasm similar to that of private property and the privatization of state-owned enterprises. Freeing education from the 'dead hand' of centrally-enforced uniformity was seen as a requirement to prevent such control from being reinstated: break it quickly and break it thoroughly so that it cannot be put back together. Given the universal resentment which grew out of the history of treating children as ideological conduits, the speed and certainty of these reforms is understandable.

As a task it is simplier to articulate the changes in teaching philosophy than it is to demonstrate changes in the classroom. To be sure there is a long way to go before the philosophic changes represent a normal experience for students. Nevertheless the problems of implementation in the transition may not be significantly more complicated than in other education systems around the world. Successes, achieved thus far, should not be minimized. The wide acceptance of the need to shift away from fixed formula teaching toward treating students differently based on learning style and interest is one of the greater success stories of the transition. It is fair to speculate however, that this success has occurred because the demand for pedagogical change was local in origin and the mechanisms to achieve it, domestic in design. The same cannot be said of the other two categories of curriculum challenge.

New Subject Matter. Administering an economy by planning it, and managing a political system by enforcing debateless policy, implies a set of intellectual underpinnings very different from those required by a free-market, open democracy. Under the Party/State, studying 'economics' was analogous to how westerners might classify a training course for public administration. Emphasis was placed on how to plan. The content paid little attention to prices and costs, included little or no concept of profit or net yield. Additionally, there were no courses of study which included business practice, or legal specializations which might cover copyright, civil rights, education, agriculture, transport or environment law. On the other hand, under the Party/State there was a prolific range of engineering courses of study because technology was considered politically 'safe' and useful for state production.[10] The engineering curriculum in market economies, however, can be very different from the curriculum under the Party/State. In the latter, emphasis was placed on incorporating the principles of mechanics in the basic sciences -- heat transfer, energy, durability. The major concern was will it work? In market economies, engineering curriculum is more complex. Not only must it incorporate the principles of mechanics, but it also has to ask whether it 'will work' if there is a change in prices, environmental standards, copyright law, marketability, consumer demand, cost, productions efficiency and required profit margin.

Today there are examples in the ECA region of new curricular content in many of these areas of study. However, the new curricula sometimes result from direct, and often imperfect, translations of western precedents and can be presented in the classroom with the same stultifying didactic style which had characterized the Party/State. Thus, a curriculum change does not necessarily represent the solution to the problem.

On the other hand, there are ample examples of good precedent where new curricula are designed specifically for the ECA region's students, and in a pedagogically modern manner which underpins new principles of student learning. One illustration is the economics curriculum designed in collaboration between the SLO (the Dutch national curriculum organization) and Moscow State Pedagogical University. This curriculum explains the nature of economics, that various aspects of economics differ depending upon one's own role and function. There are chapters which require the student to see economics from different roles: from that of a public citizen, a property owner, a producer, a consumer, a participant in a financial market, an insurer, and finally, as a head of a family with a tight budget (Levitsky and van den Broek, 1995).

Another illustration of an excellent new text is that of "The Adventures of a Little Man" (Usachev, 1994) in which a little green man defends the principles of the environment against decisions of powerful figures and institutions by using the court system. The institutions challenged by the 'little man' include political and military leaders, a story which only a decade ago could have been interpreted as sedition and may

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[10] Of the adult Russian population with higher education degrees in 1980, 71 percent had degrees in engineering. This compares to 27 percent in Germany and nine percent in the United States (Heyneman, 1998, forthcoming.)

well have led the texbook author to prison (Annex 3). That this textbook, and many others like it, are approved by the Russian Federal Ministry of Education for use in public schools is a tangible sign of education progress.

Civics, Social Studies, and History. Far and away the greatest educational challenge in the ECA region, and the problem with the widest implications outside the region, is the problem of teaching civics, social studies and history.[11] Three important reasons are necessary to mention by way of background. First, of the 27 nations in the ECA region, none are monolingual, mono-ethnic or mono-religious (see annex 1). The religious population of Albania consists of 70 percent Muslims, 20 percent Orthodox, and 10 percent Roman Catholics. The ethnic population of Estonia is 62 percent Estonian, 30 percent Russian, and 8 percent consisting of Ukrainians, Belarusians and Finns. The ethnic population of Kyrgystan is 53 percent Kirghiz; 21 percent Russian, 13 percent Uzbek; 2.5 percent Ukrainian, 2.5 percent German, and 8 percent others. The populations of Hungary, Georgia, Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Uzbekistan and each of the others represent similar complexities.

Second, while organization of the school system is hardly uniform throughout the region, the authority to design curriculum is now in many instances a local responsibility. No longer is there a single political party to enforce discipline and standardize content. Even where there is a national curriculum, such as in the Russian Federation, the application of the curriculum, by design, is not standard. Classroom teachers have more professional latitude to interpret, to target pedagogy and content differently, and place emphasis based on local needs as seen by local authorities. How can a country raise national standards but at the same time encourage local curricular control? One successful method is that of Hungary (see below, Box 1).

Box 1: National Curriculum Standards in A Decentralized Education System: The Case of Hungary

Modern education systems have two opposite objectives. One is the demand for higher national standards. The other is the demand for local control and professional management at the school level. Both have compelling reasons, but can both be achieved simultaneously ? The answer is yes, but it requires a radical shift away from traditional notion of 'curriculum'.

In the past, curriculum has sometimes been confused with 'syllabi' -- numbers of courses, class schedules, hours of instruction. A modern performance curriculum includes none of these elements. Instead it concentrates on "performance standards", that is, the actual behavior a student is expected to exhibit or perform as a result of having completing education. Decisions over syllabi are left entirely to local authorities. One such example is the National Core Curriculum of Hungary (Ministry of Culture and Education, 1996)

[11] Social studies places emphasis on economics and sociology; civics places emphasis on political science, government and law.

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The Hungarian performance standards are 'inspired by democratic values'. They are designed to give equal weight to the interests of the individual and to that of the wider community. They are designed to balance the national standards containing the fundamental 'domains' which all citizens need with a wide latitude of curricular and pedagogical choice which support professional and institutional autonomy. The national performance standards are designed to utilize less than two thirds of the school time, hence leaving one third open for complete local preference on objectives and content. They organize performance objectives, not by subject matter, but by comprehensive domains. This enables schools to choose, establish and group the material in a manner they believe to be most effective. National performance standards do not determine the objectives by grade level, but lay out stages of objectives to be met at years 6 and 10. The national performance standards require that school teachers understand and choose from a multitude of educational materials produced by the private manufactures. This requires a significantly higher standard of educational professionalism on the part of teachers than when all materials were centrally designed and supplied.

Detailed objectives (see Annex 4) are outlined in terms of knowledge, skills and minimum performance competencies. The origins for these standards may lie in different sources. In the case of Hungary they have their origins in the need for integration within the homeland, integration with the European Union, world-wide integration, principles of the environment, requirements for career orientation etc. Control over possible extremist curriculum is maintained through the national tests for successful education completion (exit tests), and the examinations required for entrance into universities. On these profoundly important tests, emphasis underscores the national principles and those local principles wholly in tune with an integrated peaceful society.

Third, ethnic, linguistic, racial, national, and religious differences take on a different characteristic in the ECA region by comparison to other parts of the world. In the first place there is a lack of linguistic clarity between what is meant by 'nationality' and what is meant by 'ethnicity'. Until 1997 for instance, Russian citizens carried an identity card (an internal passport) which listed their 'nationality' -- Buriat, Jew, German, Kazak, Russian. All were 'Russian citizens', but with different 'nationalities'.

In addition, many ethnic and religious histories are inflammatory due to the particularly harsh political tradition in the region. There are grievances in the former Party/States which, for the most part, are unparalleled in the West resulting in unique educational complications (Broxup and Bennigsen, 1983; Broxup, 1992, 1994 ; Grant, 1991; Anweiler, 1992; Rywkin, 1990; Kirkwood, 1991; Karavetz, 1978; Shadrikov, 1993; Wheeler, 1962; Shorish, 1991, 1984; Gilberg, 1974). With the exception of Africans in the 18th Century or American Indians sent against their will to reservations, minorities in the west tended to settle in certain regions for reasons of personal preference. The Japanese who migrated to Hawaii, the Jamaicans who left for London; the Moroccans who work in Paris, the Swedes living in Minnesota, the Irish making their homes in Boston did so, by and large, to seek a better life.

In the former Party/States however, minorities in many instances were moved forcibly for political reasons. German-speakers were relocated to Siberia away from the war front. Korean-speakers were moved to Central Asia. Jews, Cossacks, Tatars, Buriats,

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Poles, Georgians, and many others were relocated to distant and unfamiliar territory. Until today, these displaced peoples have had no genuine political voice or authority over matters of what they wish to teach the young. Now they often have both voice and authority. More importantly, there are few institutional traditions of democratic procedures, such as local school boards, to act as constraints. Using curriculum to rectify 'old wrongs' is one of the first demands of local ethnic authorities. Some may attribute responsibility for their predicament to particular individuals, Stalin for instance. Others may direct the blame at particular groups, e.g. Russians, Romanians, and Poles.

As an illustration, approximately one half of the 89 regions in the Russian Federation have minority populations of sufficient size to generate debate over which language should be used as the language of instruction. The number of languages used in Russian public schools doubled between 1991 and 1995. Four different languages (other than Russian) used to be permitted (Georgian, Tatar, Bashkir and Armenian). Today, nine languages are permitted as languages of instruction (the first five, plus Buriat, Urdmurt, Chuvash, and Iakut), and a total of 87 languages are used in other parts of the curriculum. In some instances, non-Russian languages are used for instruction in schools where Russian speakers are in the minority. This adds a different dimension to the question of protecting 'minority rights'. The question remains as to how basic tenets of a society, such as loyalty and citizenship, can be guaranteed if curriculum authority over humanities, languages, and history is devolved to local communities and schools as the Russian education legislation of 1992 guarantees.

Ethnic groups in the ECA region have long been used as political instruments in a geopolitical chess game; pawns to be moved around, rewarded, punished, banished or elevated as political winds shift. Nowhere else in the world has the ethnic game been quite so draconian. Given this history of persecution on so many sides and from so many different sources, it is not surprising that the first temptation among ethnic authorities is to redress past wrongs through the curriculum in public schools. This raises new problems.

Since there are no traditions of consultation on curricular issues and there is a long-standing tradition of authoritarian curriculum enforcement, it is natural that new, locally-designed curricula may exacerbate rather than ameliorate tension. One illustration is that of Bosnia and Herzegovina where curriculum was designed (within the same country) by different ethnic authorities without any enforcement of a consensus (see Box 2).

Box 2. Bosnia: Ethnic-related Issues in Curriculum Content and Textbooks.

Since the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord in December 1995, the three main ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been using different curricula and textbooks in the municipalities and regions where they are a majority. Bosnian-Serbs use Serbian textbooks in the RS Entity, Bosnian-Croats use textbooks produced in Zahgreb, and in the Bosniac territory of the Federation several donors, such as UNICEF, the Islamic Development Fund, and Soros, have financed the printing of new textbooks.

The content of these textbooks, distributed in 1994, raised concerns about whether they would increase ethnic divisions, exacerbate differences, and prevent social cohesion. For example, a Serb produced textbook was shipped to Bosniac areas for use by school children, however, a derogatory ethnic symbol against Muslims was printed on the inside cover of this text knowing that this symbol would be hurtful to many Bosnian Muslim children.

Additionally, ethnic bias and hatred is apparent in the accounts of history recorded in textbooks. A section of a Bosniak text entitled "Genocide and ethnic cleansing" reads:

> Horrible crimes committed against the non-Serb population of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Serb-Montenegrin aggressors and domestic chetniks were aimed at creating an ethnically cleansed area where exclusively the Serb people would live. In order to carry out this monstrous idea of theirs, they planned to kill or expel hundreds of thousands of Bosniaks and Croats. They had at their disposal the entire technical equipment and weaponry of the former JNA....The criminals began to carry out their plans in the most ferocious way. Horror swept through villages and cities. Looting, raping and slaughters...screams and outcries of the people being exposed to such horrendous plights as the Bosniak people experienced...Europe and the rest of the world did nothing to prevent the criminals from ravaging and slaughtering innocent people.

The section continues to condemn not only the Serbs, but also the Bosniak-Muslim population fleeing before the war-crimes.

> ...those who ran out of fear and who were not prepared to join those who were defending their country. They are now living carefree in a foreign country, waiting for someone else to liberate the country for them...Such an attitude deserves every condemnation, since not to help the homeland which is bleeding is a treason and a crime of the worst category.

To question whether this extremist text is appropriate is not a question of whether the events described occurred. The two issues must be separated. The public school experience is intended to mold desired behavior of future citizens. Therefore, citizens from all different ethnic groups must feel comfortable about the content of the public school curriculum. If one or more groups is uncomfortable, then the school system has abrogated its public functions. This Bosnia illustration is an example where abrogation of public function occurred. Bosnia needs a textbook policy which has criteria for approving the textbooks to be used in all schools and which would not exacerbate the problems in the relationships with its neighbors.

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The central education dilemma. In the ECA region, there are two alternative principles, equally legitimate, which conflict with one another. One principle is the demand for national identity on the part of the 27 nations. The other principle concerns the rights of local minorities within each nation. Kazakhstan provides a good illustration.

For many sound nation-building reasons, Kazahkstan has felt the need to develop a broad understanding of its historical and linguistic origins. In essence, Kazakhstan had to create its national heritage largely from scratch, because it had been physically and culturally decimated during the period of the USSR (Olcott, 1987; De Young and Balzhan, forthcoming; Valyayeva and DeYoung, forthcoming). Authorities renamed the national pedagogical university after Abai Kunabaev, a national poet. Walls of the public schools are peppered with pictures of Kazak intellectuals who had been purged or killed by Stalin in the 1930s. Descriptions of the deeds of ethnic heroes from previous centuries are found in the curriculum today as are the contributions of pre-Soviet Kazak statesmen and nationalist parties of the early 20th Century (De Young and Nadirbekyzy, 1996, p. 75). Kazak has been reinstated as a national language in spite of the fact that it is spoken by few of the urban intellectuals, fewer than one percent of the local 'Russian' population (which constitutes 37 percent of the overall Kazak population), and that there are altogether more than 100 different ethnic groups in Kazakstan.

The problem is where to draw the line between the need for a national culture and the rights of local minorities. Will ethnic minority interests be better protected in an independent Kazakstan than they were when Kazakstan was a part of the USSR? This question is not unique to Kazakstan, but rather is a universal issue to varying degrees throughout the ECA region. One illustration of a well managed strategy with respect to this dilemma is the effort put forth by the Ministers of Education representing Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and Turkey who meet annually to discuss these types of questions in regard to education. (see Box 3.)

Box 3. Cooperation in Central Asia

Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenstan, and Tajikstan had little experience with democratic principles prior to their incorporation into the former Soviet Union in the 1920s. Nevertheless, it was obvious at their independence in 1991, that regional economic prospects depended upon a mutual understanding about treatment of minorities in each other's countries. Each country contains a large mix of ethnic groups from neighboring countries. About a quarter of the population of Turkmenistan is non-Turkmen and approximately one fourth of the population of Tajikistan is Uzbek. In Kyrgyzstan slightly more than half the population is Kyrgyz and in Kazakstan less than half the population is Kazak. In every country there are schools for Kazak, Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek children. Mistreatment of a minority in one country, even the perception of mistreatment, could destabilize the region as a whole.

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In 1992 it was agreed that textbooks would be shared across national boundaries, a precedent established under the USSR. This has made it possible for Uzbeks living in Kazakstan to use national textbooks from Uzbekistan; and for Kazaks living in Uzbekistan to use national textbooks from Kazakstan. The permanence of multiple ethnic minorities in each country is taken for granted. There is also a general understanding that extremism in one country's version of history or civics curriculum could exacerbate regional tensions. Today each Central Asian country wants students to use textbooks which follow the national curriculum rather than the curriculum of a neighboring country, which is natural. What is unique to the Central Asia experience however, is that the precedent for curriculum tolerance and the mechanism for discussion of curriculum tension has been established at senior levels of administration and these appear to have successfully steered Central Asia around many social cohesion problems.

One way to illustrate the importance of positive social interactions among ethnic groups is to draw from an example outside the region in which textbook content has been identified as contributing to civil conflict. The example is that of Sri Lanka.

The population of Sri Lanka is divided into many groups, but the two largest are the Sinhalese (74 percent) and the Tamils (18 percent). They speak different languages and practice different religions (Buddhist and Hindu). In the 1950s national identity in Sri Lanka was an important issue as it is today for the new countries in the ECA region. Based on an interpretation of 'minority rights' prevalent 40 years ago, Sri Lankan school populations were segregated ethnically, as were all textbook materials and supplies. The content and tone for the country's history was decided by the central ministry of education.

In a review years later, however, pedagogical materials were discovered to be far from equal, and not based upon an inter-ethnic consensus either on content or on tone. The dominant historical image presented in the early textbooks was that of a "glorious but embattled Sinhalese nation repeatedly having to defend itself and its Buddhist traditions from the ravages of Tamil invaders" (Nissan, 1996, p. 34). Sinhalese textbooks were scattered with damaging messages conveying images of Tamils as the historical enemies of the Sinhalese. National heroes were chosen whose reputations included having vanquished Tamils in ethnic wars. On the other hand, Tamil text materials emphasized historical figures whose reputations included accommodation with the Sinhalese. In neither of the texts were there positive illustrations drawn from the other ethnic group. There was no attempt to teach about the contribution of Tamil kings to Buddhist tradition, or the links between Sinhalese kingdoms and Buddhist centers in India. Language texts were largely mono-cultural in content, with few references to each other's ethnic groups (Nissan, 1996, p. 36).

Because the texts were culturally inflammatory, and because there was no effort to balance the prejudices stemming from outside of the classroom with more positive

experiences and illustrations within the classroom, the Sri Lankan schools can be said to have achieved the opposite of the intention of all good public school systems. Instead of laying a foundation for national cooperation and harmony, which is the basic rationale for public schooling, it laid the intellectual foundations for social conflict and civil war.

The lessons for the ECA region could hardly be more clear. Considerable attention has focused on the minority groups in the region (Schopflin and Poulton, 1978; Sheehy and Nahaylo, 1980; Banton et. al., 1985; Hlebowish and Hamot, 1997; Black, 1997; Packer, 1996; Skutnabb - Kangas, 1990; Vakhtin, 1992; MRG and TWEEC (eds), 1993; Krag and Funch, 1994; Greece, Pettifer and Poulton, 1994; Beyani et. al., 1994; Liegeois and Gheorghe, 1995). Many organizations have taken an interest in the problems of social studies and civics education, not only because they are concerned as professional educators, but rather because they are concerned about the possible implications of inter-ethnic and national tension. These organizations include UNDP, UNESCO, the European Union, the Council of Europe, UNICEF, the Soros Foundations, the American Federation of Teachers, USIA and many others (see annex 2 for illustrations of their programs). [12]

So sensitive have the inter-ethnic problems become that NATO has developed a concern about education on the premise that inter-ethnic tensions expressed through education could well constitute a risk to peace in the region. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (the OSCE) established a High Commissioner on National Minorities, based in the Hague (Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations, 1997). The High Commissioner has already issued recommendations pertaining to the education of the Greek minority population in Albania, the Albanian population in Macedonia; the Slovak population in Hungary, the Hungarian population in Slovakia and the Hungarian population in Romania (Siemienski and Packer, 1997, p. 190). In 1996, the High Commissioner requested assistance from the Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations to work on a possible set of guidelines governing the education rights of national minorities. After a considerable amount of discussion and consultation, these guidelines, known as the Hague Recommendations, were published in 1997 (Packer and Siemienski, 1997, pp. 187 - 198), and can be added to the many other international conventions and regulations which attempt to identify and to protect the educational rights of children and various sub-populations.[13]

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[12] In addition there has been ample precedent provided by the challenge of reducing educational curriculum-based tensions in Western Europe (Covey and Evans, 1977; Fogelman and Edwards, 1997; Slater, 1997; Shennan, 1997).

[13] These include the Polish Minorities Treaty of 1919; the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948; the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education in 1960; the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959; the subsequent UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989; the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1950; the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1995; the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in 1992; the Council of Europe Charter on Regional or Minority Languages in 1992; the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice in 1978; the Copenhagen Declaration of the

In general these covenants and conventions pertain to the problems of populations which may be subjected to discrimination and prejudice. They concern the right to be educated in one's mother tongue, the right of fair access to more selective training in higher and vocational education, freedom from discrimination, cultural bias and the like. While these issues are indeed important, effectively they address only one half of the problem.

The other half of the problem pertains to the rights of the majority or the rights of the national community. Their educational interests are no less compelling: the Kazaks in Kazakstan; the Latvians in Latvia; the Romanians in Romania, etc. What is to protect the national community from extremist versions of history as portrayed by curricula designed by minority populations? What are the rights of the national community for having a sense of compromise and historical dignity ascribed to their national culture by minority populations in their own country? What protection does the national community have against the possibility that a minority community within the same country may encourage loyalty to another nation where their ethnic group is more numerous? The problem of civics education has multiple sources, and therefore must involve multiple solutions. Not all solutions can be incorporated under the auspices of the 'rights of minorities'. None of these conventions address this other side of the equation.

On the other hand, recently there have been some efforts on the part of the professional education community to establish a set of international standards for civics education. These standards go to the heart of the necessity for compromise. Instead of attempting to establish the rights and privileges of minority populations, they attempt to delineate the obligations and responsibilities for all populations, majority as well as minority.

The proposed international professional guidelines include standards of many kinds. They include standards for curriculum content, for example, presenting different views of history and different opinions as to its contemporary relevance. They include a set of terms to identify different levels of critical thinking -- being able to identify a concept; describe it; explain it; evaluate a position about it; take and/or defend a position concerning it. They include a set of standards for "participation" in civics, being able to manage a conflict, build a consensus, influence others by moderating someone else's view, etc. Lastly there are standards proposed for terminologies used in civics -- civil society, constitutional rights, private opinion, citizenship obligations and the like. The sum result of these components constitute a international precedent because it establishes for the first time, an international standard for curriculum excellence in civics.

The purpose of establishing an international professional standard is to actively establish a set of principles against which each country and each local curriculum authority may measure its own civics curriculum (Center for Civics Education, 1994; CIVITAS,

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Conference of the Human Dimension in 1990; and the UN Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 1993 (Thornberry and Gibbons, 1997, p. 115 - 152).

1995; Center for Civics Education, 1997; Heyneman, 1995 (b), 1995 (March). If this effort proves successful, then national authorities around the region will have a professional benchmark by which they can hold local curriculum authorities responsible. The opposite also pertains, local and minority curriculum authorities will now have an international benchmark by which they can judge the degree to which national curricular authorities are fair and balanced in their views of history and civil rights and responsibilities.

Summary.

Section one of this paper briefly summarized concepts in economics which pertain to institutions and organizations. It was suggested that economic development of nations is determined in part by the degree to which social contracts can be enforced without coercion, the degree to which a society is able to control itself first by establishing, and then by living up to its individual obligations and responsibilities. The quantity of this ability is known as 'social capital'. It was suggested that social capital could be manufactured, or at least influenced, through the use of four categories of organizations -- political (legislative), social (churches), economic (firms), and educational (schools and universities).

Section two of this paper briefly reviewed the origins of public education. It was pointed out that the original purpose of public education was not to provide skills of literacy and numeracy, but rather for the purpose of establishing mutual identity and peaceful cooperation across differing ethnic and religious sub-populations. The economic purpose of public schooling has been to build social capital.

Section three of this paper briefly reviewed recent circumstances in the Europe and Central Asia Region, where many of the 27 countries have been newly established and all are experiencing degrees of transition from Party/State to open democracy. In this section it was noted that the educational task in the ECA region is not unlike the educational task in all new nations. It was mentioned, however, that the educational task in societies emerging from the Party/State experience is more complex than in other new nations; and in spite of the effectiveness of education in the past, that the education task in a open society and multiparty democracy is considerably more complex than under a totalitarian regime. The unique ethnic and religious history of the ECA region was noted as a complicating factor. Many interventions were reviewed, several case examples of both laudable and reprehensible practice were described. Establishing an international standard of civics education was mentioned as being a unique precedent.

Establishing an excellent record of civics education and enlightened history is no guarantee of peace or social cohesion. The opposite is also true. If civics curriculum is inflammatory and the content of the history curriculum makes neighbors uncomfortable, then the absence of peace is guaranteed.

One last point. The economics of education has adapted quickly to new demands placed on the discipline by incorporating into the equations new types of skills, new educational technologies, new curricular complexities, new objectives for teaching and learning. The concept of social cohesion constitutes a new challenge for the economics of education. The basic purpose of public schooling from the beginning, has been to establish a cohesive, peaceful and, hence, profitable society. The contribution of education to this social capital has yet to be well quantified. The next task in the economics of education to estimate the costs and the benefits from this important investment.

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Annex 1

Examples on Educational Initiatives Aiming at Enhancing the Social Function of Schools in the Region
(Projects supported by International Organisations, NGOs, and other partners, 1994 to present)

Country	Organizers	Description
Albania	Council of Europe in cooperation with the George Soros Foundation and KulturKontakt.	A one-year programme planned for 1997/1998 and aimed at creating "schools as places where democracy can be experienced on a day-to-day basis.
Armenia	Government of Armenia with the assistance of Catholic Relief Services	A national programme to strengthen parent involvement in schools and the education system, and to encourage and enhance community participation in project-based activities.
Belarus	UNDP	"Democracy, public administration and participation" project set up to provide human rights training to teachers and educators as well as to jurists and law enforcement officials
Bulgaria	The Bulgarian National Committee for UNICEF	A pilot project set up in six special state-run schools in Sofia, to help Gypsy children at pre-school and primary levels build Bulgarian language skills, pride in Gypsy culture and positive identification with its influence on Bulgarian society. Books and other materials have been developed and summer training courses held.
Croatia	UNESCO UNICEF	Establishment of a National Committee for Human Rights education. Joint project being developed called "Peace and human rights education for Croatian primary schools", which will be responsible for the production of textbooks. Promotion of "Education for Peace" and Education For Tolerance" Workshops in Croatia. One in Selce, targeted pre-school teachers and provided training in helping young children understand individual, cultural, religious and ethnic difference, and learn how to resolve their conflicts peacefully.
Poland	The Polish Ministry of National Education, in collaboration with the Mershon Center	"Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland", project to "help teachers educate. .. Polish youth to be active, competent citizens committed to democratic values". The project is developing civic education curriculum materials for secondary schools and universities.
Ukraine	Government	Human rights education for different age groups, in connection with the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004).
Regional	The Council of Europe	A regional programme, expected to be completed in 1999, called Education for Democratic Citizenship, which will, *inter alia*, develop teacher training programmes, and guidelines describing the core skills required for effective citizenship.

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The Population of the Region by Ethnicity, Religion and Language, 1996

Country	Total Population (in 1,000s) a)	Population by Ethnic Group (%)	Population by religion (%)	Population by language (%)
Albania	3249	Albanian b) 95.0 Greek c) 3.0 other (Vlachs, Gypsies, Serbs, Bulgarians) 2.0	Muslim 70.0 Albanian Orthodox 20.0 Roman Catholic 10.0	Albanian d) - Greek -
Armenia	3464	Armenian b) 93.0 Azeri e) 3.0 Russian 2.0 Yezidi Kurds, others 2.0	Armenian Orthodox 94.0	Armenian 96.0 Russian 2.0 other 2.0
Azerbaijan	7677	Azeri f) 90.0 Dagestani Peoples 3.2 Russian 2.5 Armenian 2.3 other 2.0	Muslim f), g), 93.4 Russian Orthodox 2.5 Armenian Orthodox 2.3 other 1.8	Azeri f) 89.0 Russian 3.0 Armenian 2.0 other 6.0
Belarus	10416	Belarusian 77.9 Russian 13.2 Polish 4.1 Ukrainian 2.9 other 1.9	Eastern Orthodox h) 60.0 other (incl. Roman Catholic and Muslim) 40.0	Byelorussian - Russian - other -
Bosnia and Herzegovina i)	2656	Serb 40.0 Muslim 38.0 Croat 22.0	Muslim 40.0 Orthodox 31.0 Catholic 15.0 Protestant 4.0 other 10.0	Serbo-Croatian 99.0
Bulgaria	8613	Bulgarian 85.3 Turk 8.5 Gypsy 2.6 Macedonian 2.5 other 1.1	Bulgarian Orthodox 85.0 Muslim 13.0 Jewish 0.8 other 1.2	Bulgarian - Other j)
Croatia	5004	Croat k) 78.0 Serb 12.0 Muslim 0.9 other 9.1	Catholic 76.5 Orthodox 11.1 Slavic Muslim 1.2 Others 11.2	Serbo-Croatian 96 other (Italian, Hungarian, Czechoslovak & German) 4
Czech Republic	10321	Czech 94.4 Slovaks 3.0 Polish 0.6 Germans 0.5 Gypsies, Hungarians, Other 1.5	atheists 39.8 Roman Catholic 39.2 Protestant 4.6 Orthodox 3.0 other 13.4	Czech - Slovak -
Estonia	1459	Estonians b) 61.5 Russians 30.3 Ukrainians 3.2 Belarusian 1.8 Finn 1.1 other 2.1	Lutheran - Orthodox Christian -	Estonian 0) - Latvian - Lithuanian - Russian - other -
Georgia	5220	Georgian 70.1 Armenian 8.1 Russian 6.3 Azeri 5.7 Ossetian 3.0 Abkhaz 1.8 other 5.0	Georgian Orthodox 65.0 Russian Orthodox 10.0 Muslim 11.o Armenian Apostolic 8.0 unknown 6.0	Georgian o) 71.0 Russian 9.0 Armenian 7.0 Azeri 6.0 other 7.0
Hungary	10003	Hungarian 89.9 Gypsy 4.0 German 2.6 Serb 2.0 Slovak 0.8 Romanian 0.7	Roman Catholic 67.5 Calvinist 20.0 Lutheran 5.0 atheist and other 7.5	Hungarian o) 98.2 Other 1.8
Kazakstan	16916	Kazak l) 41.9 Russian 37.0 Ukrainian 5.2 German 4.7 Uzbek 2.1 Tatar 2.0 other 7.1	Muslim 47.0 Russian Orthodox 44.0 Protestant 2.0 other 7.0	Russian 67.0 Kazak o) 40.0
Kyrgyzstan	4530	Kirghiz 52.4 Russia 21.5 Uzbek 12.9 Ukrainian 2.5	Muslim - Russian Orthodox -	Kirghiz (Kyrgyz)o) - - Russian o) - -

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Latvia	2469	Latvian 51.8 Russians 33.8 Belarusian 4.5 Ukrainian 3.4 Polish 2.3 other 4.2	Lutheran - Roman Catholic - Russian Orthodox -	Latvish o) - Lithuanian - Russian - other -
Lithuania	3646	Lithuanian 80.1 Russians 8.6 Poles 7.7 Belarusian 1.5 other 2.1	Roman Catholic - Lutheran - other -	Lithuanian o) - Polish - Russian -
Macedonia	2104	Macedonian 65.0 Albanian 22.0 Turkish 4.0 Serb 2.0 Gypsies 3.0 other 4.0	Eastern Orthodox 67.0 Muslim 30.0 other 3.0	Macedonian 70.0 Albanian 21.0 Turkish 3.0 Serbo-Croatian 3.0 other 3.0
Moldova	4464	Moldovan/Romanian b) 64.5 Ukrainian 13.8 Russian 13.0 Gugauz 3.5 Jewish 1.5 Bulgarian 2.0 other 1.7	Eastern Orthodox 98.5 Jewish 1.5 (1991)	Moldovan o) - Russian - Gagauz -
Poland	38642	Polish m) 97.6 German 1.3 Ukrainian 0.6 Belarusian 0.5	Roman Catholic 95.0 (practicing 75.0) Eastern Orthodox, Protestant, other 5.0	Polish -
Romania	21657	Romanian 89.1 Hungarian 8.9 German 0.4 Ukrainian, Serb, Croat, Russian, Turk, Gypsy 1.6	Romania Orthodox 70.0 Roman Catholic 6.0 Protestant 6.0 Unaffilitated 18.0	Romanian - Hungarian - German -
Russia	148178	Russian 81.5 Tatar 3.8 Ukrainian 3.0 Chuvash 1.2 Bashkir 0.9 Belarusian 0.8 Moldavian 0.7 other 8.1	Russian Orthodox - Muslim - other -	Russian o) -
Serbia and Montenegro	10614	Serbs 63.0 Albanians 14.0 Montenegrins 6.0 Hungarians 4.0 other 13.0	Orthodox 65.0 Muslim 19.0 Roman Catholic 4.0 Protestant 1.0 other 11.0	Serbo-Croatian 95.0 Albanian 5.0
Slovakia	5374	Slovak 85.7 Hungarian 10.7 Gypsy 1.5 Czech 1.0 Ruthenian 0.3 Ukrainian 0.3 German, Polish, other 0.5	Roman Catholic 60.3 atheist 9.7 Protestant 8.4 Orthodox 4.1 other 17.5	Slovak o) Hungarian
Slovenia	1951	Slovene 91.0 Croat 3.0 Serbs 2.0 Muslim 1.0 other 3.0	Roman Catholic 96.0 Muslim 1.0 other 3.0	Slovenian 91.0 Serbo-Croatian 7.0 other 2.0
Tajikistan	5916	Tajik o) 64.9 Uzbek 25.0 Russian n) 3.5	Sunni Muslim 80.0 Shi'a Muslim 5.0 other 15.0	Tajik o) - Russian -
Turkmenistan	4149	Turkmen 73.3 Russian 9.8 Uzbek 9.0 Kasak 2.0 other 5.9	Muslim 87.0 Eastern Orthodox 11.0 unknown 2.0	Turkmen 72.0 Russian 12.0 Uzbek 9.0 other 7.0
Ukraine	50864	Ukrainian 73.0 Russian 22.0 Jewish 1.0 other 4.0	Ukrainian Orthodox - Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) - Protestant -	Ukranian - Russian - Romanian - Polish -

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АНДРЕЙ УСАЧЁВ

Приключения маленького человечка

(ВСЕОБЩАЯ ДЕКЛАРАЦИЯ ПРАВ ЧЕЛОВЕКА В ПЕРЕСКАЗЕ ДЛЯ ДЕТЕЙ И ВЗРОСЛЫХ)

РИСУНКИ А.ШЕВЧЕНКО

САМОВАР

Рекомендовано Министерством образования
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в качестве пособия
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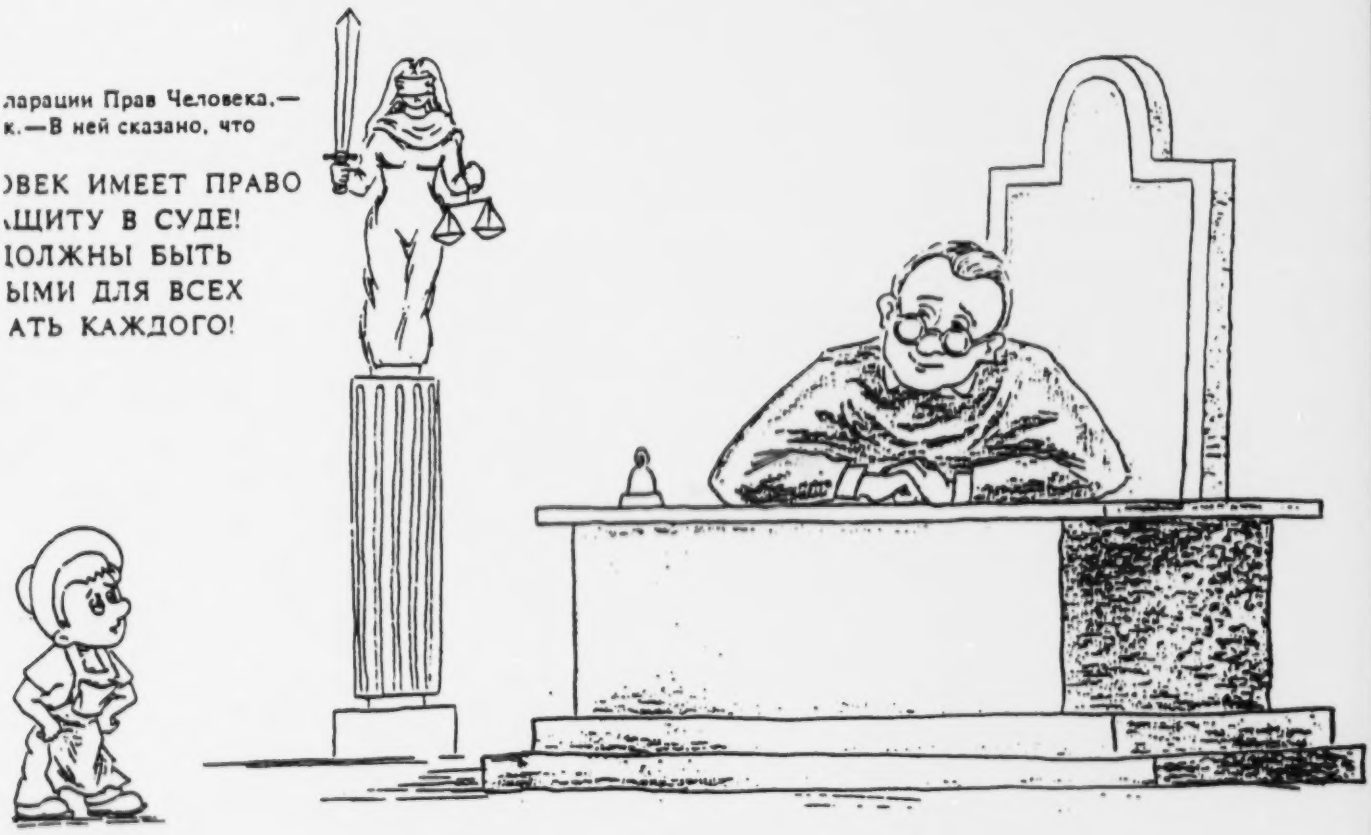

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Annex 4

NATIONAL CORE CURRICULUM

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
HUNGARY
1996

This is the English translation of the Hungarian National Core Curriculum.
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GUIDELINES FOR THE USE OF OBJECTIVES

Objectives appear in NCC on different levels and forms:

1. *Cross-curricular objectives* concerning school education as a whole are in the first chapter;
2. *General development objectives* in the introduction of particular cultural domains;
3. *Detailed objectives* of grades 4, 6, 8, 10.

The three levels of objectives are closely linked together. Both *cross-curricular* and *general development objectives* are operationalised in the form of *detailed objectives*. The coherence of objectives is emphasised by the special code of NCC.

1. *Cross-curricular objectives* concerning school education as a whole are marked by the following signs:

Homeland

Integration into Europe

Integration into the World

Environmental Education

Communication Culture

Physical and Mental Education

Learning

Career Orientation

Cross-curricular objectives are marked on the left side of the pages. When *cross-curricular objectives* in the part of *detailed objectives* cover the whole topic, the sign is placed beside the title of the topical unit in the form of. When cross-curricular objectives are linked only with part of a topic, the sign can be found at the related objective.

2. *General development objectives* of particular cultural domains are distinguished from each other by numbers, capitals and small letters. Small letters

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HUMAN STUDIES

DETAILED OBJECTIVES AT THE END OF GRADE 8

(Examples in italics)

	Attainment Targets		
	Knowledge	Skills	Minimum Competency
	Humans and animals Prehistory of man (man as continuation and peak of biological evolution). Difference between humans and animals (human and animal physiology, brain, environment, tools, work, communication, society).	Be able to place man in the world of living beings. 1A	Main theories about the origins of man. Significant differences between humans and animals.
	Body and Soul Health, illness, handicap. Cultivation of the body (physical training, leisure, clothing, our responsibility towards our bodies). The psychological, the spiritual, the social and the intellectual in humans. Holistic outlook on life and health.	Responsibility towards one's body in the spirit of a holistic view. 1G	Most important links between physical and mental health.
	The human psyche Instincts, perception, cognition, action. Memory, imagination. Thinking, intuition. Feelings, sentiments, evaluation. Aggression, impulses.	Be able to classify manifestations of the human psyche in the system of common sense and emotions, instincts and consciousness. *(Understand that fine perception and intuition, emotions and the process of thinking are partly opposites and partly complementary).* 1A	Difference between instinctive and conscious behaviour.
	The human personality The universal and the individual in human nature. Egos (*instinctive, conscious*). Temperament and character. Abilities, skills, talents, competencies, success, fulfilling oneself. Interests. Habits and addictions. Knowledge of the self, consciousness, confidence, self-control, self-esteem (self-love, selfishness and unselfishness). The value of man *(pride, arrogance, strength of character, human dignity).* Inner conflicts.	Ability to respect and understand others' personalities, to reach high level of self-knowledge, to take responsibility for oneself, to accept criticism as help. Realistic knowledge of the self and self-esteem, self-confidence, and sensible self-love. 1B,D *With example drawn from life and art, show characteristic features of selfishness, knowledge of oneself, self-confidence, self-esteem and self-love.*	Understand that each man is unique, that some components of our personality are inherited and some are acquired. Be able to argue for having respect for someone else's personality.

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	Attainment Targets		
	Knowledge	Skills	Minimum Competency
	Thinking, communication, learning Acquisition and knowledge. Verbal and non-verbal communication. Memory. Problem solving, learning. Intelligence, cleverness, wisdom.	Besides knowledge, appreciate creativity, willpower and other gifts as well. 1A.G	Connection between speech and thinking.
	The human mind Openness and curiosity. The questioning mind, seeking explanations. Faith and learning. Creativity, inspiration, intuition. Set of values, philosophy of life. Conscience. Self-fulfillment.	Appreciate curiosity and the questioning mind. 1G	A few characteristic features of the human mind.
	Man as an evaluating being Aspects of evaluation *(liking, pressure, beauty, importance, usefulness, truth, rightness, decency, acceptability, value, morality, right and wrong).* Difficulties of evaluation *(good and worthy, permanent and changing values).* The values most people regard as most important *(integrity, freedom, knowledge, conscientiousness, life, work, love, beauty).*	Be open to recognise and appreciate values. 1G Ability to form careful opinion, to provide sensible and just evaluation of other people. 1B	Be aware of the most widely accepted values.
	Man as a moral being Choice and decision, intention and action. Evil, error, sin *(man guilty of one crime, evil characters, people making mistakes and committing crimes criminals, corrupt systems).* Ethical deeds *("Do the right thing and do it well").* Virtues.	Be able to consider choices in critical situations; to recognise and give reasons for right and wrong decisions of oneself and others. *Analysing different situations in life, draw up different possible solutions, evaluate what is right or wrong in them.* 1B.2.VB	Differences of choice, decision, intention and action. Understand that people differ in what they consider right and wrong, and however, they often accept the same values and norms.
	Human motives Determination and roots. Desire, need, opportunities, will, success, wish. Interests, values, norms. Virtues and behaviour.	Discovering the motives behind different behaviours and decisions. 1.1.2.VA	Main motives *(needs, interests, conscience).*

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Attainment Targets		
Knowledge	Skills	Minimum Competency
Openness, empathy, tolerance. Prejudice and prejudiced behaviour. Intention, awareness, aims.		
Personal growth Characteristic features of age groups and stages of life. Moral development.	See man as a being of continuous growth. *Place certain people in mind (and self) in the appropriate age group and decide how far the characteristics of that stage apply to them.* 1a; 1f	Main characteristics of different age groups.

DETAILED OBJECTIVES AT THE END OF GRADE 10

(Examples in italics)

Relations and relationships Fundamental relations *(relation to objects, living creatures, relationships initiated by rules, intimate relationships)* Family relations *(parent-child, siblings, husband and wife, relatives).* Friendship. Other relationships *(On a scale from colleagues to the overall community of a nation).* Forms and ways of connections *(like-dislike, sincerity-insincerity, tolerance-independence, bias-openness, cowardice-bravery, aggression-peacefulness, cooperation-competitiveness, love-hatred).* Responsibility *(for oneself, others, one's children, nature and for our whole environment).* The most important values of good relationships (tolerance and flexibility, honour, trust, unselfishness, sincerity, sense of duty, solidarity, respect, patience, politeness, management skills). Conflict management.	A clear sense of roles and belonging. 1c,d Realise relations to others, understand for who and to what extent one is responsible. 1c; 1D *Try to interpret different signs of genuine or faked, selfish or unselfish behaviour.* 1B *With the help of examples drawn from real life and art, try to differentiate between genuine or faked, sincere or insincere, selfish or selfless behaviour.* 1B	Basic forms and values of human relationships and relations. Be able to argue for the value of carefully chosen and deep relationships.
Sexuality, love, marriage Sexuality *(of animals and humans, homosexuality)*	Consider deep, carefully chosen human relationships as highly	Connection between sexuality, love and marriage.

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